

States and its allies help the Ukrainians prove otherwise, we shouldn't expect any change in its behavior. Ukraine needs anti-tank weapons to defend against armored assaults; it needs modern air defense systems to defend against Russian air superiority; it needs unmanned aircraft to monitor its borders and to detect violations of its sovereignty and the ceasefire. It needs secure communications gear to prevent Russia from accessing Ukrainian plans and troop locations. It needs advanced counter-battery radar to target the artillery batteries responsible for so many of the casualties in the conflict. It needs elite rapid reaction forces capable of responding to Russian border provocations and the fast-moving asymmetric "hybrid war" tactics the Russians use to destabilize the country. Therefore, they also need training. The Ukrainians have asked for this support, and we should provide it.

Most importantly, Ukraine needs a sustained commitment from the United States and our NATO allies to provide both the quality and the quantity of equipment necessary to preserve its independence. This is not a partisan issue. Leading Democrats in the Senate, such as the Chairmen of the Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees, Senators LEVIN and MENENDEZ, as well as Senator CARDIN and others, have joined in calling for increased assistance, including defensive weapons. Yet the President and some of his top advisers continue to stand in the way of meaningful action for fear of provoking Russia, as if the tanks streaming into Ukraine or the daily clashes aren't evidence enough that American restraint has not had the desired effect on Russian activity and policy.

It is well known by now that the President has refused to adopt policies that actually provide Ukraine with the capabilities needed to change the situation on the ground. What is less well known is whether the administration is even fully committed to fulfilling the objectives of its own already limited policies.

For all the talk we have heard about the President and his steadfast support for Ukraine and the \$116 million in security assistance the United States has promised to deliver, we know almost nothing about how these policies are actually being implemented. This administration has been a black box when it comes to getting even the most basic information on our efforts to aid Ukraine. Despite multiple requests, including a letter to the President from Senator CARDIN and me, we still can't seem to get answers on fundamental questions: What equipment has been delivered to Ukraine? How long will it take to deliver the equipment we have promised but not delivered? What is the process for determining what capabilities to provide? How does the equipment we have agreed to provide support the capabilities they have re-

quested? How do our assistance efforts fit into a comprehensive strategy?

This complete lack of transparency on the day-to-day implementation of U.S. assistance raises questions about the underlying policy guidance driving it and whether the administration actually has far more modest goals than the President's public rhetoric would suggest. For example, a bipartisan assessment, conducted by GEN Wesley Clark, Retired, and former top Pentagon official Dr. Phillip Karber, and featured in the New York Times, the Washington Post, and other major newspapers, revealed that the Obama administration has issued extremely restrictive instructions on the type of nonlethal aid the United States could provide. The lack of this aid has created real problems for the Ukrainians.

The fact is that no one in Congress knows how these regulations will be applied. This is a huge problem and stands in the way of a coherent and effective policy.

Yesterday the President's Deputy National Security Adviser testified that strengthening the Ukrainian forces is "something we should be looking at." While this is a welcome change of tone, we should be well beyond the point of just looking at it, in my view, because every day we delay, every day we dither, every day we match Russian action with half-measures and self-imposed limitations, Moscow is emboldened and the danger grows.

I am convinced that a piecemeal, reactionary response to intimidation from Moscow is a recipe for failure. Instead, we must have a comprehensive, proactive strategy that strengthens NATO, deters Russian aggression, and gives Ukraine the political, economic, and military support it needs to maintain its independence. We need a strategy that seeks to shape outcomes, not be shaped by them.

Much of that leadership must come from the White House, but this body also has a role to play. We should include funding for Ukrainian military assistance in upcoming spending bills. We should pass the Ukraine Freedom Support Act, which would authorize the assistance Ukraine needs today. We should pass legislation that will reduce Ukraine's—and all of Europe's—reliance on Russia for its energy resources. And we should pass legislation to ensure that the United States never recognizes Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea.

The need for action could not be more clear. Through his aggression in Ukraine, President Putin and Moscow are sending a message to Ukraine and to the world that America and the West are indecisive and weak and that their guarantees of support are meaningless. The Ukrainian people have rejected that message, choosing instead the path of democracy and openness—a path the United States has urged the Ukrainians and also the world to follow. We and our NATO allies must now stand with them.

When America is strong, when we stand unequivocally for freedom and justice, when we don't back down in the face of threats and intimidation, that is when we see a world that is more stable, less dangerous, and more free. That is because we stand with our allies.

More wars, more conflicts, more threats to our security—these do not arise from American strength; these arise from American weakness. Let's be strong again. Let's lead again. Let's help Ukraine. The world is watching.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. ISAKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be recognized for up to 10 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is recognized.

REMEMBERING HERMAN J. RUSSELL

Mr. ISAKSON. Mr. President, on Saturday night of last week, Georgia, Atlanta, and America lost a great citizen.

Herman J. Russell was one of the greatest African-American business leaders and civil rights leaders the world has ever known. He passed peacefully in his home after a short illness, but his legacy and his life will last forever—not just in the history books but indelibly on the skyline of our city.

In 1952 Herman J. Russell started a small plastering company called H.J. Russell & Company. He had just graduated from Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and he came to Georgia to make his fortune and his fame. He started out plastering walls and ceilings, and he finished his career building the Georgia Dome and the Georgia Pacific Building, the 1996 Olympic Stadium, and buildings throughout the Atlanta skyline. While doing so he made a lot of money which he reinvested back not into his investments but into his community.

In 1999 Herman Russell by himself gave \$4 million to Morehouse College, Clark Atlanta University, and Georgia State University, and last December gave \$1 million to Children's Healthcare of Atlanta to rebuild and help renovate the facility in downtown Atlanta for a hospital for children.

He was always giving back more than he asked, but his greatest gift may have been the fact that he enabled Martin Luther King in the civil rights movement in the 1960s. It is well known that Dr. King would go to Herman's house to take refuge, take a swim and relax between the arduous times of the civil rights movement. Herman Russell would finance the movement and finance the movement's efforts so they could continue to move forward to bring about equality in the South. That is an indelible mark he left in history, not just for our State but for our country.

Herman and his wife had three wonderful children. They are involved in

the business today. Today the business is still flourishing, as it always has. In fact, the new Atlanta Dome Stadium, which will house the Falcons, is a \$1.3 billion stadium in which the company was integrally involved.

Our city has lost a great friend, a great African American, and a great entrepreneur—so great, he was recognized by the Atlanta Chamber as its first African-American member and its second African-American president. He has been recognized by the Butler Street YMCA, the Atlanta and Georgia Business Council, and almost every entrepreneur group there is for his contributions to business and his contributions to investments in the State of Georgia.

It is with great sad tomorrow night that I will go to Ebenezer Baptist Church and be a part of the wake ceremony for Mr. Russell. But it is with great pride that I rise today on the Senate floor to make sure the RECORD indelibly recognizes the life, the times, and the contributions of Herman J. Russell.

REMEMBERING CARL SANDERS

Mr. ISAKSON. Mr. President, on Sunday night a great Georgian and a personal friend of mine passed away from this life. At the age of 89, former Governor Carl Sanders died in Atlanta, GA, at Piedmont Hospital.

Governor Sanders was Governor of Georgia from 1963 to 1967. I was at the University of Georgia as a student from 1962 to 1966, so my college years paralleled his gubernatorial years, where he made a remarkable change in the politics and lives of the people of Georgia.

Everyone remembers what the 1960s were like in the South in terms of segregation. Most of the Governors in the South—like Governor Wallace from Alabama—were segregationists. But Carl Sanders came forward as a Governor who wanted to help bring people together, who wanted to help bring Georgia and the South through a turbulent time, to see to it that African Americans rose to equality not just in the way they were recognized but in the ways the laws were created. In fact, it was Carl Sanders who came to Washington in 1964 to meet with Lyndon Johnson and help form the foundation for the civil rights laws that passed later in the 1960s.

Carl Sanders was born in Augusta, GA. He went to the University of Georgia on a scholarship and played football, and he left the university to go fight in World War II and was a fighter pilot. He came back from World War II, graduated from the University of Georgia, and then graduated from Georgia Law School. He practiced law and was elected to the State legislature and then to the State senate and then Governor of the State of Georgia. He was Governor from 1963 to 1967.

Back then, Georgia Governors could not succeed one another, so he had to

wait 4 years to run for a second term. He did wait 4 years and he ran for a second term, and he lost ultimately to the President of the United States, Jimmy Carter. But he was never a loser; he was a winner. And in everything he did, whether it was government or business or family life, whatever it might be, Carl Sanders excelled.

He was such a wonderful man to share his wisdom and knowledge. About once every 6 or 8 months he would have three or four of us over to his office, at the age of 89, treating us to lunch and talking about the good old days but also talking about the future. Carl Sanders was not about the past, except for memories; he was about the future for its hope and its prosperity for people.

Carl Sanders will be remembered for a lot of things, but in Georgia, most importantly, he will be remembered for what became at first a junior college system but is now a 4-year college system which has every Georgia citizen within a 45-minute drive of a State university system facility. His passion as Governor was education. His legacy in Georgia will be education. He contributed greatly to our State and greatly to the future and the prosperity of the people of the State of Georgia.

It is with a great sense of sadness but a great sense of pride that I pay tribute today on the floor of the Senate to a great Governor of Georgia, a great citizen of our country, and a great American—the Honorable Carl Sanders, former Governor of the State of Georgia.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak in morning business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate is in morning business.

IMMIGRATION

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, it has been 511 days since the Senate passed bipartisan legislation to reform our broken immigration system. Fourteen Republicans joined the Democrats in supporting a measure which covered what I believe are the major challenges facing America when it comes to immigration in the 21st century.

There was an amendment adopted by Senator CORKER, and I believe Senator HOEVEN cosponsored it. Their amendment would have strengthened our border security to unprecedented levels.

At this moment in time, we have more Federal law enforcement officials on the border between the United States and Mexico than the combined population of all other Federal law enforcement agencies. It is a massive commitment which would have been enhanced even more by the comprehensive immigration reform bill.

For those border State Senators, we would have reached the point where—from Galveston to San Diego—we

would have literally had available a law enforcement agent every half mile 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. It is a massive investment, and it passed the Senate 511 days ago.

That same bill addressed some serious issues about agriculture workers in Illinois, California, Texas, and all across the Nation. Growers are telling us they are having a difficult time bringing in the workers who will do the backbreaking, hard, physical labor necessary for agriculture. This bill addressed it. In fact, the bill was endorsed by both growers as well as those who do the work. It was an amazing political achievement.

It also addressed the issue of H-1Bs. Why in the world do we bring the best and brightest from around the world to the United States for advanced degrees, advanced education and then welcome them to leave? If they stayed and worked to create jobs and new businesses and new innovations in America, we could build our economy. The bill addressed it.

As important as all of those issues are, the bill addressed 11 million undocumented people in America—11 million, and that is just an estimate. The bill said those who were here undocumented—who had been here for several years—could step up, register with the government, pay their filing fee, submit themselves to a background check, pay their taxes, and then be reviewed annually for years to make sure they were still complying with the laws of the United States.

They would not qualify for government benefits or programs during this period of time, but they could work their way to legal status. That bill passed the Senate on a bipartisan basis with 68 votes. The bill then went over to the House of Representatives where, sadly, it languished. Nothing happened.

The Speaker of the House refused to call the bill up for a vote. In fact, he refused to call any aspect of the bill up for a vote. He refused to call it in committee for any consideration or debate, and then he let it languish. There were times when the House Republican leadership tempted the White House and others by saying: Well, maybe now we can call it up for a vote. They never, ever did. We have waited 511 days, and here we are today.

This evening, President Obama is going to announce an Executive order to address immigration. He has waited patiently, and America has waited patiently for the Republicans in the House of Representatives to step forward and accept this responsibility, but they have refused. They have refused to fix this broken immigration system, and you can bet as soon as the President issues his Executive order, there will be a chorus of complaints that this President has gone too far by using his Executive authority to address this issue.

You won't hear the facts from the critics. You won't hear from the critics that every President since Dwight